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ABSTRACT

Two arguments on the impact of sex and setting in part-time faculty are offered: (1) that men and women come to part-time teaching by somewhat different routes, but once they arrive in a specific setting and encounter similar work and work conditions, the impact of sex is muted; and (2) that there are two important aspects related to work settings (there are patterned differences between those teaching in other unionized settings and those in the Faculty of Education and these differences make the part-time experience a largely positive one in the setting of the Faculty of Education). Research conducted during 1983-1986 included a mail questionnaire survey of 608 members of Unit 2 of the Canadian Union of Educational Workers. Questions were categorized as follows: social characteristics, academic career history, willingness or reluctance to teach part-time, scholarly and disciplinary activities, work setting experiences, perceived impact of gender on academic career decisions/career opportunities, and job satisfaction. Findings indicate that, for many reasons, elite women experience more career delays and interruptions than men. A significantly higher proportion of women than men believe gender affects their career decisions and opportunities. Gender influences who chooses or is assigned to part-time teaching. Extensive use of part-time faulty is requiring institutions to refine their policies, which should take into account the diversity of the population subsumed under the rubric of part-time faculty and create bridges to full-time positions for those who qualify. Tables are included. Contains 26 references. (SM)

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CAREER PATTERNS AND ROLE PERFORMANCE OF PART-TIME ACADEMICS: THE IMPACT OF SEX AND SETTING

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CAREER PATTERNS AND ROLE PERFORMANCE OF PART-TIME ACADEMICS: THE IMPACT OF SEX AND SETTING

In focusing on the impact of sex and setting on part-time faculty, we argue that men and women come to part-time teaching by somewhat different routes. However, once they arrive in a specific setting and encounter similar work and common conditions of work, the impact of sex is muted. Our second argument centers on two aspects related to the work settings. First, we hypothesized that there would be patterned differences (in academic qualifications, willingness or reluctance to teach part-time, and economic salience of part-time teaching) between those teaching in other unionized settings (1) and those in the Faculty of Education. Secondly, we argue that these differences, combined with the Faculty of Education's willing use of large cadres of part-timers, would make the part-time experience a largely positive one in this setting.

Demographic Context

Increased female participation in the labour force and the growth of part-time work have been two major trends during the last two decades. Part-time workers now comprise 16.6 percent of the paid labour force in Canada (Statistics Canada 1988 -- Catalogue 71-201) and women predominate among part-time workers. As of March 1988, they constituted 43.3 percent of all workers, but 70 percent of part-time workers (Statistics Canada 1988 -- Catalogue 71-001).

The number of female university teachers has risen even more dramatically than the number of female workers generally. Between 1960 and 1985, they increased by 712 percent (from 736 to 5987) (Statistics Canada 1987 --Catalogue 81-241). Most of this increase was a function of overall expansion in the higher education sector. During the same period, the proportion of full-time female faculty rose only slightly from twelve percent in 1960 to seventeen percent in 1985. Female participation varies inversely with rank; the higher the rank, the lower the proportion of women. This is hardly unexpected, since the increase in the female professoriate is recent.

Data from the United States and Britain show analogous patterns. Bowen and Schuster found that full-time female faculty increased from seventeen to 27 percent and part-time female faculty from 23 to 36 percent in the period from 1960\1 to 1982\3. Female faculty were concentrated in the lower academic ranks and in less prestigious institutions, that is to say in community colleges rather than in research universities. Women constituted 52 percent of instructors,

but only ten percent of full professors (1986:57). In Britain, too, there has been an increase in the number of female academics, though in 1982 they constituted only 13.9 percent of the professoriate but "41 percent of academic-related staff" (Acker 1984:29)

Although part-time workers have typically been concentrated among the semi- and unskilled, the temporary use of part-time faculty has a long tradition in universities and colleges. What is new, due to sharply reduced government funding, is the high proportion of teaching done by part-timers. Many of these become locked into part-time status because of their inability to find full-time positions.

It is noteworthy that part-timers were not accorded systematic attention in two recent major studies of the American professoriate (Bowen and Schuster 1986, Clark 1987) even though "in the mid 1980s part-timers constitute at least one-third of the academic labor force" (Clark 1987:200). Part-time faculty are outside the collegium not so much because of differences in material rewards (even though these differences are considerable), but because their status is disesteemed. In a context that prizes scholarly productivity, research is excluded from the mandate of part-timers. They are contractually temporary workers in a setting that values tenure not only for the economic security, but also for the academic freedom it bestows.

Related Studies

As the number of part-timers has grown, and as their use has been entrenched by continuing fiscal restraint, increasing attention has been devoted to these issues in the literature. Relative to their proportion of full-time faculty, women are over-represented among part-timers. One researcher aptly commented that "the part-time problem" inevitably tangles with "the woman problem" (Miller 1984:85). Accordingly, the position of part-time female academics has been examined in a number of studies.

Looking at the Canadian situation, Breslauer (1985) notes that women faculty are doubly disadvantaged; first, as women who aspire to non-traditional occupational roles and, secondly, in trying to gain a foothold in universities at a time when fewer career opportunities are available (2). She concludes:

> ...they are few, they are relative latecomers to the system, they occupy the lowest ranks, they have the least secure positions, they are virtually absent from some fields while being ghettoized in others, and they are on average paid less than their male colleagues of the same rank (1985:82).

Universities do not submit data on part-timers to Statistics Canada regarding their numbers, location, ranks or fields (1985:86). Hence, discussion of female faculty is largely confined to those who are full-time. Breslauer suggests that the absence of data that would permit the drawing of an accurate profile of female academics, including part-timers, makes it difficult to "prove" that women are indeed disadvantaged and that remedial action is imperative.

A similar situation appears to prevail in Britain. Spender refers to a study by Anna Coote in which she analyzes "the way in which male-controlled institutions do not act upon information about sexual inequality" (1984:138).

Simeone (1987) points out that there has been a sharp increase in the number of female faculty hired in the last fifteen years but that, given the low base percentage of women, the impact on their overall representation has been modest. She argues that:

> Women continue to hold a higher share of those positions which are part-time, nontenure track, or outside their primary sphere of interest. The overall employment picture, compounded by a generally tighter academic job market, remains the same as it was in 1964 (1987:30).

Abel (1984) points to women's over-representation among part-timers, and especially to their concentration in stereotypical female fields, such as the humanities and education. She also found that women were more likely than men to stay in marginal academic careers, in part because they were less willing to start all over again by retraining for careers where opportunities are more plentiful, for example business or law.

Abel's findings are consonant with those of other researchers, both with respect to women's over-representation in certain fields, and with respect to the lesser likelihood of their moving out of part-time teaching.

Tuckman and Tuckman (1981) used data from a national survey conducted by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) in 1977 to draw up a taxonomy of part-time faculty. They noted that among those who wanted to teach full-time, "women were more active in seeking full-time academic positions than men, they were also less successful in obtaining offers" (1981:675). In part these differences may be accounted for by the greater geographic mobility of men, by the slightly higher percentage of males who had doctorates, and by their areas of specialization. Forty-four percent of male 'hopefuls' were in the Arts and Humanities compared with 62 percent of female 'hopefuls'.

Especially relevant here is the survey conducted by Katz (1984) of the part-time faculty union, the Canadian Union of Educational Workers (CUEW). Katz found that, among teaching assistants, women were under-represented in science and engineering (20 percent were female; 59 percent were male) and over-represented in the humanities (25 percent were female; 9 percent were male) and the social sciences (33 percent female versus 23 percent male). 52 percent of males and seventeen percent of females reported that they would consider leaving academe if they could not obtain a full-time teaching position.

Among part-timers, Katz found that men and women were equally active in applying for tenured positions at other institutions, but "significantly fewer females had applied for tenured positions at their present institution. This may be due to fewer tenured positions becoming available in traditionally female disciplines at their institution and/or females having some prior insight into hiring policies at their institution" (1984:11).

Overall, the literature on part-time faculty (Biles and Tuckman 1986, Leslie, Kellams and Gunne 1982, Theodore 1986, Wallace 1984) emphasizes their heterogeneity. For a variety of reasons, many choose to teach part-time, while for others the choice is between teaching part-time or not teaching at all. As a group, part-timers suffer many negative disparities relative to full-time faculty, and these are felt most keenly by 'reluctant' part-timers (3). Women form a larger percentage of part-time faculty than they do of other academic ranks, and they tend to be concentrated in disciplines in which career opportunities have recently been most sparse.

Background of the Study

As sociologists specializing in the study of work and organizations, we were interested in the anomaly presented by part-time faculty, both in terms of their constituting an elite segment of the reserve army of labour, and in terms of their marginality within the university. Whereas graduate students who teach part-time while completing their doctorates have a time-honoured, legitimate place as apprentices in the university hierarchy and in the academic collegium, no clear niche has been carved out in either constituency for long-term part-timers.

Our research has been conducted in the following phases:

(1) In 1983, we investigated the population of part-timers at York University by means of a lengthy questionnaire survey to establish social characteristics, education and career patterns, teaching responsibilities, research and publishing activities, career expectations and job satisfaction (Baker 1985).

(2) Immediately following, we conducted in-depth interviews with part-time academics, both with those who chose to teach part-time (willing or voluntary part-timers) and those who were unable to find full-time academic employment, (reluctant or involuntary part-timers) to explore how they experience their work and their status.

(3) Concurrently, we interviewed university administrators, deans of Faculties, selected full-time faculty and leaders of both the full-time and part-time faculty unions, to gain an understanding of the institutional context in which part-timers carry out their work (Lundy and Warme 1986, Warme and Lundy 1988).

(4) In 1986, we embarked on the student-centered phase of the research with a questionnaire survey of a sample of students (full-time and part-time) in various Faculties and in different years of study. Our questions addressed the following: (a) awareness of whether their professors have full-time or part-time status, and what assumptions students make about reasons for this difference in status; (b) their assessment of the differences involved in being taught by full-time and by part-time faculty, (perceived) competence, formal and informal contacts, accessibility; (c) views on the teaching and research mandates of the university and their opinion on what relative weight should be assigned to each mandate. We also investigated the impact on students' views of gender, years of study, academic standing and degree of exposure to part-time teaching. The questionnaire survey was followed by interviews with students from each Faculty (Warme and Lundy 1987).

The Present Study

Numbered questionnaires were mailed to the 608 members of Unit 2 (4) of the Canadian Union of Educational Workers (CUEW). The questions were grouped into several categories:

Social Characteristics: gender, year of birth, marital status, number and ages of children.

Academic Career History: highest degree obtained, year and institution. Interruptions in academic training -- duration, reasons. Number of years teaching at present institution and nature of teaching assignments (e.g. directing a course, lecturing, leading a tutorial). Work discontinuities --number, duration, reasons).

Willingness or Reluctance to teach part-time: willingness to accept a tenure-stream appointment now or in the near future, willingness to commute (various distances) to obtain such a position.

Scholarly and Disciplinary Activities: number, dates and nature of publications (books, journal articles). Disciplinary memberships, attendance at meetings, presentations, committee work.

Work Setting Experiences: access to facilities (office, telephone, secretary). Access to travel and research funds. Opportunity to attend meetings, participate in departmental decisions.

Perceived Impact of Gender on Academic Career Decisions/Career Opportunities: domestic responsibilities, geographic immobility, stereotyping, discrimination in institutions' recruitment and hiring processes, sexual harassment.

Job Satisfaction: with part-time teaching, with part-time status.

Open-ended Question: "to me, being a part-time faculty member means..."

Reminder cards and a second questionnaire sent to those who had not responded produced a response rate of 63.6 percent (387). Not all respondents answered each question. The questionnaires were numbered, so that returns could be monitored, and selected respondents contacted for interviews.

To test our hypothesis that those teaching in the Faculty of Education differed from other respondents in a number of ways, we calculated frequencies for the sample population as a whole, for the Faculty of Education and for settings excluding the Faculty of Education. Appropriate cross-tabulations were run, along with a compatible significance test.

In selecting respondents for personal interviews, we sought to represent different viewpoints, based on responses to the statement "to me, being a part-time faculty member means..." and levels of satisfaction with part-time teaching and with part-time status.

Respondents were divided between men and women and between those teaching in the Faculty of Education and those in other settings. Eighteen respondents were interviewed. Interviews lasted from 45 to 60 minutes, and explored career satisfaction (willingness to choose the same career again), perceived impact of gender on career choice, perceived advantages and drawbacks of part-time faculty, from the perspective of the respondent, for the university and for students, extent of professional and social contact with full-time faculty, and suggestions for meliorating negative aspects of part-time status . General comments on the part-time experience were invited.

Findings and Discussion

Gender Differences and Career Opportunities: Women constitute 50.4 percent of respondents, a percentage that has remained virtually unchanged since our 1983 survey. The 1986-87 CUEW figures for Unit 2 show a distribution of 58 percent males and 42 percent females. It would appear therefore that women are overrepresented among our respondents. In her 1984 study of CUEW members at six Ontario institutions, Katz found that women constituted 38 percent of members, but 42 percent of her respondents. However, even the large percentage of women in our sample falls far below the 70 percent that women represent of all part-time workers. One reason for this may be that university teaching is a high prestige occupation relative to other occupations in which women are concentrated, although the part-time factor devalues it within the university setting itself.

We will now discuss some of the gender-related variables associated with "getting there", that is to say the routes to a part-time position.

The differences are small, but our findings are consonant with those of other researchers (Abel 1984, Bernard 1974, Katz 1984) that, on average, women complete their education at a later age, and that female part-timers are slightly older than their male counterparts. 73.5 percent of the females in our sample were born before 1951, and 28.5 percent obtained their highest degree before 1976; for males the percentages were 67 percent born before 1951 and 33.9 percent graduating before 1976. Relatedly, 61.3 percent of women compared with 38.7 percent of males ($p = .0001$) reported that they had to interrupt their academic training. Reasons for these interruptions were differently distributed between men and women.

For example, one 52 year-old respondent noted that she had to interrupt her graduate education for domestic and financial reasons, and that she did not obtain her doctorate until 1982 when her children had grown up.

Earlier studies showed a similar pattern. Simeone notes:

> One study, done in 1971, of 1,961 freshmen who had gone on to graduate school showed that 24 percent of the women, as opposed to 15 percent of the men, listed family obligations as obstacles to completing their studies, and 44 percent of the women, compared with 17 percent of the men, listed home/ child care responsibilities as reasons for interrupting study (1987:122/3).

TABLE 1 : REASON FOR INTERRUPTING ACADEMIC TRAINING (PERCENTAGES)

	Male	Female
Domestic responsibilities	23.5	52.4
Financial need to work	55.9	29.5
Partner's work	1.5	7.6
Illness		1.9
Other	19.1	8.6
Total (numbers)	(68)	(105)

Taylorson found in her British research that:

> Few of those now established as staff in higher education had had a straightforward path to their present status. Hardly any had been creamed off to join the 'closed loop' of the apprenticeship for an academic career that Rudd and Hatch (1968) depict as usual for brighter students (1984:145)

She cautions, however, that "more research is needed on the reasons for the more discontinuous educational careers of women" (1984:146).

90.8 percent of men, but only 54.7 percent of women reported that gender had not affected their career decisions ($p > .0001$). Those who believed that gender had affected their career decisions responded as follows to the question: "In which of the following ways has gender affected your career decisions":

> A 28 year-old female M.A. noted under 'other': "much more subtle social pressures to choose a less demanding, lower-profile career".
>
> 50 year-old female Ph.D.: "Limitations of base career decisions. Lack of mentors -- I didn't look ahead and see that indeed I might be leadership material until well into my career.

TABLE 2 : PERCEIVED EFFECT OF GENDER ON CAREER DECISIONS (PERCENTAGES)

	Male	Female
Did not complete dissertation because of domestic responsibilities	2.7	11.6
As sole support parent had to work	--	1.1
Gave priority to partner completing his/her education	1.1	5.3
Partner was transferred	--	5.3
Domestic responsibilities	2.7	8.9
Other	2.7	13.2
Total (numbers)	(184)	(190)

In her interview, a 49 year-old M.A. commented on lack of career planning:

> No, I would not make the same choice again. At '0' levels [subjects for these are chosen in Britain at approximately grade 10 level] I would have picked sciences and then gone on to medical school, but I felt this was going to be a long haul. I did not see the study of languages as a career choice. I didn't really think much about my career.

> 49 year-old male M.A.: "No [effect on career decisions], except that us males are favoured".

Our findings coincide with those of other researchers that the norms of the society generally, and those of one's significant others in particular, impinge on aspirations and career decisions. For example, Simeone writes:

> A woman may not even consider a career as a research scientist, knowing the barriers she would encounter, so she may decide to channel her talents into training future scientists. Another may see the difficulty of combining a career in engineering with raising a family, so she may pursue a career in math education instead. This is not to suggest that these choices are simply defaults, or that

> women have opted out of the competition and therefore are to blame for their lower participation rates, but rather that women may tailor their aspirations to a realistic assessment of their chances for success (1987:20).

Kanter (1977) made similar comments with regard to women's careers in corporations.

Career decisions refer to the choice of career, and to the economic and psychic costs one is willing to pay to pursue this choice, for example to attend one university rather than another, to choose a program that can be completed in three years, rather than one that will take much longer. Career opportunities are encountered once one has embarked on a certain path, though in practice expected opportunities affect career choices.

Among men, 85.2 percent believed that gender had not affected their career opportunities; only 46.3 per cent of women held this view ($p > .0001$). Those who believed that gender had affected their career opportunities responded as follows to the question: "In which of the following ways has gender affected your career opportunities?"

TABLE 3 : PERCEIVED EFFECT OF GENDER ON CAREER OPPORTUNITIES (PERCENTAGES)

	Males	Females
Took longer to complete qualifications because of domestic responsibilities	4.4	25.8
Interrupted career to stay with children	--	14.2
Moved because of partner's work	1.1	3.7
Encountered prejudice in hiring	3.3	3.2
Other	6.0	6.8
Total (numbers)	(181)	(190)

Explanations for 'other' included these comments:

> A 42 year-old female Ph.D noted that she had to move because of her partner's work, and her career opportunities were further affected because she 'chose' to stay at home with her children. She adds: "Beware vocabulary that implies that normal male career rhythm is the only plausible norm".
>
> A 37 year-old male Ph.D. comments wryly: "People are inclined to believe I'm smart because I'm male".
>
> One 47 year-old female with a master's degree notes that she did not complete her dissertation because, as a sole support parent, she had to work. She adds: "I believe that in 1969 Ph.D funds were allocated on the basis of gender." Even if this was not actually the case, a situation becomes real if it is defined as such (W.I. Thomas).

During her interview a 42 year-old respondent with a doctorate from an Ivy League university pointed to the complex factors that impinge on women's careers:

> Being a female makes it easier for me to be in the position in which I am, but it also put me there. Nobody took me under his wing and told me what to do -- as was done for my husband. Being female is a two-edged sword -- one may need the money less, but this takes away the spur.

Analogously, several respondents in a study of female Ph.D. students at a major English university told Taylorson that women have an advantage because "they can be less competitive" (1984:150). This state of affairs appears not to have changed significantly since Cynthia Epstein observed nearly twenty years ago that at every stage of an academic or work career a woman can 'opt out' without societal censure. For a man it would be deemed a 'cop out' (1970).

It is a moot point how much Affirmative Action programs have actually affected women's career opportunities, but some men are obviously worried and resentful. Although the percentages are very small, they are equal for men and women who reported that there had been prejudice in hiring individuals of their gender. Some of the comments bear out this view:

> A 37 year-old male Ph.D: "yes, males are not being hired".
>
> A 32 year-old male M.A. working on his doctoral dissertation: "Affirmative action limits the possibility [of being hired] in many places, although I understand the need for this".
>
> One 46 year-old male Ph.D. describes himself as a member of a visible minority: "gainfully employed white males".

Gender Convergence and the Marginal Experience: The discussion thus far would lead one to expect more work discontinuities for women than for men. In fact, we found only small differences. Of the 29.2 percent who reported an interruption, 54.1 percent were women, and only women gave as the reason: "Partner's work took us to another location". 53.7 percent of all those who reported interruptions reported that "No position was available". Job insecurity is typical of part-time work even in a unionized setting, for those who have not accumulated enough security to compete successfully. As one female respondent complained:

> I never know whether I'll be hired the year after. I cannot devote myself to my work, I do not know whether I will be working for the same institution or for somebody else. I feel like a mercenary.

In the interviews, respondents were unanimous in naming uncertainty, the inability to plan, as major drawbacks of part-time status. Our data suggest that gender acts as an intervening, rather than as an independent, variable, in that it channels women into work that is vulnerable to involuntary interruptions.

We hypothesized that, once in a part-time position, the experiences of men and women would converge. Although we did identify male/female differences, the findings are in the expected direction.

First, in terms of length of service as a part-time academic, the mean number of years of teaching is almost identical for both sexes (5.8 for men, 5.9 for women). In our population, 43.1 percent (both men and women) had been teaching part-time for six years or more; 20.9 percent had been doing so for ten years or more. These figures show that part-time academics cannot be said to constitute a transient work force.

Of the total population, 10.6 percent had held a contractually limited full-time appointment (CLA) at some time in their career; of these, 60 percent were men and 40 percent were women. There were hardly any differences, however, between males and females in their expressed willingness to accept a CLA (slightly over half would be willing). It should be noted that willingness to accept a CLA cannot be equated with career ambition, since there is little evidence that a CLA offers a more promising route to a tenure stream appointment than part-time teaching.

Fewer men than women report that they would want a tenure stream position now (33.7 percent of males; 40.1 percent of females) or next year (40.8 percent of males; 42.8 percent of of females). However, a significantly higher proportion of men than women (50.9 percent versus 39.4 percent) would be willing to commute outside Toronto in order to obtain such an

appointment. Geographic immobility may be one reason why Tuckman and Tuckman (1981) found that among part-time academics who sought full-time positions men were more successful than women.

Katz (1984) found that a higher proportion of women lacked access to facilities such as an office, telephone and secretarial assistance for scholarly activities. We found no such differences. Relatively high percentages of both men and women reported lack of access to an office (40.3 percent), to a telephone (40.4 percent) and to secretarial assistance for scholarly activities (56.1 percent). These are facilities that are simply taken for granted by members of the full-time faculty. One of the 'permanent' part-timers stated that it was an aggravation to have to apply every year for a library card. Another notes:

> I share an office with some 15 other tutorial leaders. I don't consider that "access to an office" for any useful purpose.

We found no differences between men and women in their opportunity to participate in departmental meetings. Of the total population, 45.8 percent reported no opportunity to participate. Of those who do have the opportunity, slightly more men than women actually choose to participate.

In the interviews, some respondents defined non-participation as an advantage of part-time status. One woman stated forcefully: "I hate administration and committee work". Others bitterly resented their exclusion from decisions on curriculum planning and general academic governance.

In our overall population, a sizeable minority report some publishing activity (for example, 39.4 percent had an article published in a refereed journal, and 21.5 percent have authored an book). Given the limited access to support services and research funds, this is a surprisingly high figure. Differences between men and women are small, but consistently in the direction established by other researchers (Abel 1984, Bernard 1974, Simeone 1987, Theodore 1986) that, on average, women publish less than men. On the one hand, one can emphasize the slightness of the sex differences. On the other hand, one can focus on their consonance with other findings which, however, refer mainly to full-time faculty.

Overall, a high percentage belong to disciplinary associations (61.8 percent -- 62.4 percent of males and 61.3 percent of females). Among those who belong, women are slightly more likely to attend meetings, hold office, work on a committee, have presented a paper or organized a session at a conference. Because the differences are statistically insignificant, it is difficult to draw inferences based on them.

One factor curtailing part-timers' active participation in professional pursuits is minimal access to funding. At York, the union (CUEW) negotiated access to some funding five years ago. Yet, among the 89.9 percent of respondents who have not applied for internal research or travel funds, 43.3 percent gave as the reason: "did not know that such funds are available". This speaks to the marginality of part-timers within the university, a setting in which knowing where and when to apply for what funding has become vital. Bowen and Schuster's comments on the lack of integration they encountered in their national study are pertinent here:

> In no instance was it claimed that part-time faculty were integrated into the academic departments to which they were assigned or into campus life. Occasionally, a chair or dean would mention that a few of the part-timers, apparently eager to establish themselves as legitimate candidates for full-time openings, attended faculty meetings, made themselves readily available to students, and generally "behaved like regular faculty members." Nonetheless, the overall conclusion was inescapable: Typically, the part-timer is viewed as an expedient, and the part-timer's understandable response is a minimal commitment to the institution (1986:151).

The relatively large proportion of part-timers who are professionally active, as measured by publications and membership in disciplinary associations, also merits comment. In our interviews with full-time faculty and with administrators, the argument was repeatedly advanced that an institution's scholarly activity is depressed by part-timers' lack of productivity. At York, no record is kept of research and publications by part-time faculty. Hence, we cannot draw comparisons with those of full-time faculty. However, Clark's comments on the 'paradox of academic work' are instructive:

> The greatest paradox of academic work in modern America is that most professors teach most of the time, and large proportions of them teach all the time, but teaching is not the activity most rewarded by the academic profession nor most valued by the system at large. Trustees and administrators in one sector after another praise teaching and reward research. Professors themselves do the one and acclaim the other (1987:98/9).

It would seem that, since research and publishing are integral to the mandate of full-time academics, they are assumed to meet this mandate. The exclusion of these activities from the mandate of part-timers leads to the untested presumption that all they do is teach. Because "the prestige hierarchy dictates that the research imperative propel the system" (Clark 1987:101), a high proportion of part-time faculty is ipso facto assumed to undermine institutional prestige.

Impact of the Work Setting: We now present some comparisons between those teaching in the Faculty of Education and those in other Faculties and show that, on a number of dimensions, these two groups differ more sharply from each other than do men and women within each group. First, we turn to academic qualifications:

TABLE 4 : UNIVERSITY DEGREE ATTAINED (PERCENTAGES)

	Male		Female	
	Faculty of Education	Other Faculties	Faculty of Education	Other faculties
Doctorate	9.7	46.7	4.9	39.5
Master's	66.1	41.7	54.1	50.4
Bachelor's	24.2	11.7	41.0	10.1
Total (numbers)	(62)	(122)	(61)	(130)
Significance	0.0000		0.0000	

Among those teaching in Faculties other than Education, differences between men and women are not statistically significant. To the extent that differences are present, they are consonant with other findings (Abel 1984, Bernard 1974, Theodore 1986) that women are less likely than men to hold a doctorate. The qualifications of those teaching in the Faculty of Education are strikingly lower. The high proportion of female respondents with only a baccalaureate is somewhat surprising, given that the percentage of women enrolled in masters' programs in Ontario Faculties of Education increased from 52.2 percent in 1976 to 66.2 percent in 1986. During the same period, the percentage of women enrolled in doctoral Education programs increased from 52.0 to 65.5 (Ministry of Colleges and Universities 1988).

Clear differences also emerged between those teaching in the Faculty of Education and others in responses to the questions: "Do you work for pay elsewhere in addition to your part-time teaching at York? If yes, is it a full-time or part-time position?" "Which do you consider to be your primary job?" "What percentage of total household income is represented by your earnings from teaching at York?"

Within the Faculty of Education, variations between men and women are minor in terms of holding full-time outside employment and in the perceived primacy of this employment. Males and females in other settings differ -- women are significantly less likely to hold full-time outside jobs and to consider these as their primary work.

TABLE 5 : FULL TIME EMPLOYMENT ELSEWHERE (PERCENTAGES)

	Male		Female	
	Faculty of Education	Other Faculties	Faculty of Education	Other faculties
Full-time	96.7	65.0	88.1	37.7
Not	3.3	35.0	11.9	62.3
Total (numbers)	(60)	(103)	(59)	(77)
Significance	0.000		0.0000	

The economic salience of part-time teaching is marginally higher for women within each group, but the significant differences are between those who teach in the Faculty of Education and those in other settings.

For respondents in the Faculty of Education, part-time teaching is icing on the cake, an activity considered stimulating and interesting, and a university affiliation that is deemed prestigious. "The money is nice too", one respondent remarked in his interview. Since most of the respondents teach off-campus, lack of access to an office and to a telephone (21.3 percent of women reported such access, 8.1 percent of men

reported access to an office and 16.1 percent access to a telephone) is seen, at worst, as an inconvenience. For those teaching in other Faculties (whose access rates are much higher), having to make do with inferior facilities compared with those available to full-timers is regarded as an impediment to effective functioning and as an affirmation of low status.

TABLE 6 : PRIMARY EMPLOYMENT
(PERCENTAGES)

	Male		Female	
	Faculty of Education	Other Faculties	Faculty of Education	Other faculties
York part-time teaching		18.2	3.4	44.2
Other position	100.0	81.8	96.6	55.8
Total (numbers)	(60)	(99)	(58)	(77)
Significance	0.0005		0.0000	

TABLE 7 : PERCENT OF TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME FROM TEACHING AT YORK
(MEANS)

	Male		Female	
	Faculty of Education	Other Faculties	Faculty of Education	Other faculties
Mean	11.4	33.1	14.0	36.4
Total (numbers)	(60)	(124)	(58)	(127)
Significance	0.0000		0.0000	

Setting and Satisfaction: Differences between those in the Faculty of Education and part-timers in other settings are highlighted by responses to the question regarding satisfaction with part-time status. Differences in satisfaction with part-time teaching are less pronounced:

TABLE 8 : SATISFACTION WITH PART TIME STATUS (PERCENTAGES)

	Faculty of Education		Other Faculties	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Satisfied	77.6	64.8	32.8	26.7
Neither	19.0	27.8	27.0	21.0
Dissatisfied	3.4	7.5	40.2	52.4
Total (numbers)	(58)	(54)	(122)	(124)
Significance	0.0000		0.0000	

TABLE 9 : SATISFACTION WITH PART TIME TEACHING (PERCENTAGES)

	Faculty of Education		Other Faculties	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Satisfied	93.3	83.4	80.7	70.3
Neither	5.0	10.0	15.3	18.0
Dissatisfied	1.7	6.7	4.0	11.7
Total (numbers)	(58)	(54)	(122)	(124)

Given the reported primacy of other employment, their status as part-timers is not salient to those teaching in the Faculty of Education. They do not aspire to become full-time faculty, in part because they are aware of lacking the requisite qualifications. A 43 year-old M.A. elaborated on this in his interview:

> At this point in my life it would not make sense to give up a secure position in educational administration and embark on the long haul to a doctorate. And then I might not even get a full-time academic job.

The high level of satisfaction in the Faculty of Education is related to the perceived ability to influence the ideas of future educators and, thus, to shape the course of education. Satisfaction is also related to the specific environment of the York Faculty of Education which is described as "exciting", "at the cutting edge of innovative education". A 45 year-old M.A. noted in her interview that "the Faculty of Education deals with the present but has one foot in the future". A 42 year-old male M.A. commented:

> I work for both York and....It's like day and night. I enjoy being a part-timer at York. It has a good reputation and I am proud to be associated with it. I feel I am listened to; I get good service and answers to my questions.

Although Faculty of Education respondents saw no personal disadvantages in part-time teaching (other than having less time to spend with their families), some noted possible disadvantages to students. The respondent quoted above commented:

> Commitment may not be as strong as for someone for whom the job is full-time. I try to gauge my assignments in accordance with the demands of my full-time job. They tend to be practical rather than theoretical and needing a lot of marking.

Most respondents saw no drawbacks for the University in having a large part-time teaching force. Two noted that high turnover rates might make long-term planning difficult.

In the other settings, respondents reported a high level of satisfaction with part-time teaching, but generally little satisfaction with part-time status. For some, part-time teaching represents the best of all possible worlds and satisfaction is not affected by the depredations of part-time status. This was borne out by completions of the statement: "To me, being a part-time faculty member means..."

> 47 year-old female Ph.D. "Getting to teach, which I love without having to face the problems involved in academic careers".

46 year-old male Ph.D. "Having an opportunity to work in an area I find rewarding and having the time to raise my children".

For others, even the teaching they love is corroded by perceptions of being exploited and disesteemed:

48 year-old female Ph.D. "Insecurity, over-work and resentment at being so blatantly exploited. I propose changing the terminology to the more accurate 'part-pay faculty'. On the other hand, I love teaching. This seems to be the only way I can do what I want.

42 year-old female Ph.D. "Being marginal and exploited, I continue because I love to teach. Fortunately I do not have to depend on my teaching as my sole source of income, so what bothers me most is the way most full-timers treat me and other part-timers as if we were a lower form of life. They display the shameless arrogance of the aristocracy of the ancien regime, especially those who talk most loudly of their sympathy for the oppressed.

Women in the Faculty of Education and in other settings report lower satisfaction with part-time teaching and with part-time status (5). However, the striking difference for both sexes is that between satisfaction with part-time teaching and with part-time status. Indeed, many reported themselves 'very satisfied' with part-time teaching and 'very dissatisfied' with part-time status.

Those who hold doctorates and want a full-time academic position but are unable to find one (involuntary part-timers) are especially sensitive to, what they perceive as, the indignities of part-time status. It can be hypothesized that this category is most likely to regard full-time faculty as a reference group, and to experience relative deprivation.

Our findings are consonant with those reported by Yang and Zak (1981) from their major study of job satisfaction among part-time academics. Yang and Zak's hypothesis was supported that "the differences between that segment who choose part-time academic employment and those unwillingly confined to it are immense and far reaching" (48). Those who aspired to full-time academic jobs were likely to be less satisfied, women were less satisfied than men. Part-timers most likely to be satisfied were those who held outside jobs, and those who taught in business or education.

In the interviews, those from settings other than the Faculty of Education saw the use of part-time faculty as having negative aspects both for students and for the university. They expressed concern that, because of work overload, some part-time faculty may not be able to devote sufficient time to course

preparation and to interaction with students outside of classroom hours (6).

Respondents mentioned the presence of an 'alienated' group, low morale, lack of commitment to an institution that relegates them to second-class citizenship, and lack of integration into the university community. The latter is borne out by reports of minimal social and professional contact with full-time colleagues. One respondent noted: "I just couldn't make the departmental luncheon. I was too tied up with my outside work". Another pointed out that the newsletter of the department in which he teaches solicits news of scholarly activities by "full-time faculty". The message is clear -- part-timers are not 'really' members of the department.

Acknowledgement that extensive use of part-time faculty may have negative consequences for the various constituencies did not obscure awareness of the benefits derived from part-timers, both by the university and by students.

Respondents from all settings noted that, from the university's viewpoint, part-timers provide economy, flexibility, the ability to mount specialized programs without long-term commitment, and inject 'new blood' into the system. Students were seen to gain by contact with those who are out in the 'real' world, because it enhanced the credibility of the material taught, and strengthened the ties between the university and the community. Importantly, part-timers were perceived to be good teachers, both because they must love teaching ("the money is certainly no incentive", one respondent remarked rather acidly) and because student evaluation are more fateful for them than for full-timers.

Conclusion

Our findings indicate that, for a variety of reasons, elite women continue to experience more career delays and interruptions than men. A significantly higher proportion of women than men believe that gender has affected their career decisions and opportunities. As funds for the higher education sector and new jobs have become scarce, timing has been crucial, and women have been less likely to be at the right place at the right time, thus feeding into systemic discrimination. By systemic discrimination, we mean requirements of graduate study and hiring criteria that are geared to a male career pattern. One route to reducing such systemic discrimination is to provide flexibility in the early stages of an academic career, so as to accommodate the work discontinuities entailed in being female.

Once in the part-time cadre, membership does not differ significantly for men and women, and does not evoke significantly different behaviours and attitudes. The differences that do emerge support other research findings that, on average, men publish more and report higher job satisfaction. The willingness or reluctance to teach part-time supersedes gender differences in work behaviour and attitudes. The 60 percent of our respondents who report themselves to be voluntary part-timers, express mainly positive attitudes.

Gender influences who chooses, or is assigned to, part-time teaching. However, the caste-like characteristics of this segment of the academic labour force inhere in its status within the university hierarchy. The status is not only low but, for many, it also becomes inescapable. Our findings show that, especially for those part-timers who consider themselves trapped, the indignities of part-time status are reinforced by the cavalier disrespect they encounter in the work setting. In settings in which part-timers are perceived as a valuable resource, as in the Faculty of Education, negative aspects of part-time status may scarcely be noticed.

Our findings are consonant with those from our earlier study, and those of other researchers (Gappa 1984, Leslie, Kellams and Gunne 1982, Wallace 1984) that part-time faculty constitute a heterogeneous group of individuals in terms of academic qualifications, career aspirations and expectations, and willingness or reluctance to teach part-time. This heterogeneity is highlighted when we compare part-time faculty in the Faculty of Education with those who teach in other settings. On a number of dimensions, differences between these groups are far more pronounced than gender-based differences within each group.

Extensive use of part-time faculty, even in research universities, is requiring institutions to refine their policies with respect to this category (Biles and Tuckman 1986). It is important that such policies take into account the diversity of the population subsumed under the rubric of part-time faculty, and create bridges to full-time positions for those who are qualified and who aspire to such positions.

FOOTNOTES

(1) The Faculties of Business and Law also employ part-timers, but they are not unionized.

(2) There is little hope of imminent improvement. Lipset and Ladd comment: "The outsiders who come knocking on the door of the Faculty Club in the early 1980s may find it even more difficult to gain entrance than in past decades" (1985:41). This appears to hold for the late 1980s too.

(3) Based on the 1983 survey done at York University (Baker, Lundy and Warme), Baker (1985) divided respondents into 'willing' and 'reluctant' part-timers.

(4) Local 3 of the Canadian Union of Educational Workers (CUEW) has two units. Unit 1 consists of graduate students who are teaching assistants. Unit 2 is comprised of members of the part-time faculty. We surveyed only Unit 2 members, both in 1983 and now.

(5) A colleague with whom we discussed this finding suggested that women might be less satisfied because they were overburdened, in that many would also have to cope with domestic responsibilities. Since we have no data, this is speculative. However, it would be interesting to incorporate this dimension into a study comparing the job satisfaction of men and women in specified occupations and settings.

(6) In our 1986 survey of students, part-time faculty were not seen as less effective teachers. However, a majority of students believed that outside of classroom hours part-timers were less readily available than full-timers.

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